

On Monday 19th. Liverpool dockers decided to return to work. The government had res-urrected the official solicitor to appeal against the decision in the Industrial Relations Court to arrest three London Dock's pickets.They knew the quick response of dockworkers meant the arrests would spell disaster for Tory policies and employers' profits.

The Dock's dispute as a whole is *not* a fight between two sets of workers. Instead a small number of Inland Container depot workers are allowing themselves to be used by employers to undercut dockwork.

The dockers have shown that the only way to beat the Tories and the state, and make real gains for the working class is to regard their law as class law. To think of these 'laws' as 'mandates' for them to do what they want with us, is to court disaster.

# UNION CAVE IN

The TUC General Council and trade union bureaucrats, with a few exceptions, collapsed as the NIRC bared its teeth. Th The TUC have accepted that the Tories will not repeal the IRAct and are now in headlong retreat towards meek co-opera-tion with the NIRC.



"We were told that ASLEF was a militant union. 'Fight the Bill' said the executive, 'Stand shoulder to shoulder and we will win'. We were fooled. We did not expect a cowardly cave-in as soon as the Court said 'Boo!!" ASLEF militant, Southern Region

They stopped fighting before the real struggle had begun. The resistance to the NIRC and the shop-floor 'law and order' campaign is now coming from the mass activity of the working class fighting in their docks, mines, factories and communities.

# MASS ACTION

The Tories and employers need a period of social peace to consolidate their profit margins and their authority in the factories and communities. But 'social peace' means a tamed passive working-class robbed of its ability to mainrobbed of its ability to main tain and develop its own institutions, power and living standards. Mass picketing by the miners rejected any ideas of a social truce with the government and the employers. The force of mass industrial action which the miners used to smash the 7% wage norm has been successfully applied by the failwaymen and now by the dockers in their fight against the state.

In recent years, the dockers, like other sections of the working class, have been faced with increasing 'rationalisation' and 'modernisation' in the name of progress. But progress under capitalism means higher profits for the bosses and depressed living standards, speed ups and more redundancies for the working class. The counter-attack has been launched by all sections - workers, tenants, women, students, black community against the increased inter-ference by the state in the running of our everyday lives.

## LIVING WAGE

The dockers have challenged head on the nature of the government's ideas about law and order, industrial relations and their definition of the 'national interest'.

THE DOCKERS HAVE SHOWN THAT THE PORT AUTHORITIES AND THE STATE CAN'T CREATE UNEMP-A LIVING WAGE FOR ALL -EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED



P&P BIG FLAME 78. CLARENDON RD. WALLASEY. CHESH

Why another socialist paper? Why another revolutionary group adding to the piles of left literature already available? We think there are important things to be said which are not being at the moment. Important struggles are being virtually ignored, important things need to be done.

In capitalist society differences arise between the needs of different groups, factory and community, employed and unemployed, men and women etc. But capitalism exploits these differe nces and makes them into DIVISIONS, despite the fact that they are only products of its system. So the struggles that take place tend to remain seperate.

These struggles need to come together so we can share and learn from the experiences of the different groups. But the particular oppressions of groups like women, students, claimants etc cannot be understood and over -come by submerging them in industrial fights. Real unity and a political strategy that emphasises OUR COMMON NEED TO CONTROL OUR OWN LIFE AND WORK, can only come on a mutual respect for the needs and potential of the different struggles.



hy Big Flame

this society is the distinction between those who work and those who don't. To work is to have self -respect. dignity, money, etc. Not to work is to be a 'slacker, 'a 'parasite,' or a 'bum.' To live, we are forced to work the way they want, for their benefit. Yet, technology is making possible an almost workless society. Even now we could cut drastically the working week and still produce as much, with work sharing.

It is within this context thatwe must look at the present demand for "THE RIGHT TO WORK." To work for whom? For the capitalist? To demand the right to be exploited in their factories? Instead we should begin the fight against the present organisation, conditions and nature of work.Our

demand should be the "RIGHT TO LIVE," not just to exist; in a society and conditions based on our needs and under our control. The demand itself provides a real focal point for common demands and unity between workers, claimants, women, students, black people and other groups, recognising each has a role.

women, students, place people and clied groups, recognising each has a role. Big Flame consists of groups of militants working with a common approach at Fords, Standards, in the communities, etc. But this isn't enough when so many Merseyside struggles stay isolated. But these struggles need to be linked together with common aims.

One of the basic divisions in

# Standards after the deal

So the Measured Day Work carrot has finally been swallowed. The deal has been signed.

If management are clever it will be some time before they try to implement it in full on the shop floor. However, we know what their long term aim is with MDW. That is, to take away the existing elements of control and mutuality that exists in varying degrees from section to section. They already have the control over wage rates and bargaining they lacked under piecework.

Standards' workers must also have an idea of a *long term strategy* based on the *needs* of the shop floor. Including an understanding of how to maintain and extend the areas of shop floor control, and what to go for in the next contract in February.

But before this strategy can be worked out we need to remind ourselves of the place of MDW in the general offensive of the employers and the state. Because if we don't understand its nature we will never be able to fight it on the shop floor.

#### Nature of MDW

MDW stands at the centre of the employers' attempts to change the whole process of production and so the *nature* of work itself. The old piecework system which worked so well for them in the periods of mass unemployment before the war, was turned against them after the war by a labour shortage and tight shop floor organisation.

The employers lost the ability to wholly determine the level of wages, because of the ability to plan ahead with any degree of certainty, because of the degree of mutual control the shop floor had over the conditions of work and so consequently the output of the goods. So MDW is an attempt to

So MDW is an attempt to re-establish the primacy of the plan which is at the centre of modern capitalism. Every aspect of the job must be accounted for, every movement timed and controlled. Thats why the most 'advanced' forms of MDW involve cameras continually filming the job, and relaying the efforts of the operators to a central control panel.

#### The last drop

As for the change in the nature of production and work, MDW is part of the process of de-skilling that is happening to the workforces in modern plants. Even the semi-skilled jobs are losing much of their 'skilled' elements. We are moving increasingly into a situation where the machine completely dominates the worker. Where every last drop of productivity will be squeezed out if we let them. This is what makes the old idea of 'pride in the job' so meaningless for most car workers.

The large increase in unemployment we are experiencing at the moment is an essential part of the introduction of MDW. To 'shake out' the labour that is'excess' to their plans. And we all know the continual threats that the bosses hang over our heads when we want to take action. Also if this threat doesn't work there's always the Industrial Relations Act

# **Good effects?**

But there are some possibly good effects of MDW. Firstly the possibility,of which we intend to go into in detail in another article, of maintaining a large degree of shop floor strength and mutuality as has happened at Cowley since the deal. But there is also the possibibility of a more unified and generalised struggle. Because the old section by section, plant by plant procedures have been done away with for the most important parts of bargaining. So the kind of *sectional* 'loyalties' and attitudes that exist at the moment become even more of a liability if united and militant action is to be taken during the contract struggles against the company as a whole.

Section strength and self reliance is of course, still the basis for the day to day struggles. And unified general action is not *automatic*; as the yearly contract fights at Fords have shown, they can be easily sold out by the union officials because of the lack of involvment of the rank and file in the struggle and their lack of control over negotiations.

#### Control

As in all struggles, the key to genuine advancement is rank and file control of the form of the action, the type of struggle that takes place, and the content of it, its aims and goals. We hope to go into some of those goals in



Everyday there are denunciations of delinquency, vandalism crime, political violence, rebellious youth, strikers who are 'wrecking the economy', etc.

On the face of it, these topics seem to cover a very wide range - there doesn't seem to be much connection between pornography and the railwaymen's strike. Yet many are denounced in the same breath as if a great disease is spreading through the country.

Mary Whitehouse, Malcolm Muggeridge, Edward Heath and a host of politicians, church leaders and journalists try to convince us, and millions think the same; that the continuing instability and failure of this society is due to the decline in morality that happens when people ignore the rules, laws and standards of 'decent behaviour' that we are all supposed to obey.

# Mr& Mrs Law&Order

And people *are* continually breaking the 'rules' and challenging the order and stability of the system. To this the average Mr and Mrs Law and Order have a ready made set of answers.

\* Pupils some as young as 13 or 14 demand a say in their education and to wear what they want. Answer: this is classroom anarchy, more discipline, authority and the cane are needed.

\* Young kids with no facilities or money to use in their leisure time turn to smashing things up in their neighbourhoods. Answer: bring back the birch to teach them a lesson.

\* Women are getting and using the chance to start to control their own bodies. Answer: ban abortions, stop early sex education.

\* People, especially the young, are beginning to decide their own sexual morality, based on their own needs. Answer: ban 02 and The Little Red Schoolbook, censor TV and films-call them 'pornography'.

\* 'Crime' of all kinds is increasing, like when housewives unable to keep up with rising prices form teams to rob supermarkets. Answer:make sentences longer, prisons worse and bring back hanging.

\* Students are protesting about Vietnam or supporting workers' actions. Answer: \* Strikers fighting for better wages and conditions are 'holding the country to ransom'. Answer: ban strikes, fine them, imprison them, it's all the work of communist agitators atyway.

The link between all of these reactionary and puritannical solutions to society's problems is the slogan LAW AND ORDER. In all European countries, East and West, it is the by-word of politicians, some of whom are elected as LAW AND ORDER candidates. It is the attempt to re-assert old traditions against the tendency for people to want to control their own lives and make their own rules.



This tendency would be safe from attack if it came from just a few old cranks on the fringe of the Tory Party, as some would have us believe. Unfortunately, millions of others back the LAW AND ORDER brigade as well.

Many middle class people fully support the campaign. A large number of working class people rejects some aspects - like the attack on 'the right to strike' - while supporting other measures to discipline other sections of the population, eg students, schoolkids, antiabortion law, heavier punishments for vandals.

#### **Final Solutions?**

These new events can't simply be put down to Tory attempts to 'split the working class', as if it were just a case of the ruling class brainwashing a nassive and ignorant working class through their control of the Press and TV. Of course, they do spread their ideas of LAW AND ORDER through the media and there are many establishment figures who cynically use the issues of pornography morality and violence to divide and confuse people, knowing full well that what they're saying is a load of rubbish.

Under the Tories, and carrying on where Labour left off, there has been ever greater stress on the ideas of LAW AND ORDER, with laws against workers, immigrants and students to give them teeth. And we've seen the rise of a huge mainly middle class puritan movement in the religious guise of the Festival of Light, led by Muggeridge and The reason the appeal of LAW AND ORDER is so strong is that to some extent it meets the real needs and fears of many people. It provides a feeling and desire for safety and security in a world that ruthlessly creates insecurity through unemployment, a rising cost of living, the rat race, the lack of sexual honesty and freedom.

It provides too a series of simple solutions , however illogical, and a series of scapegoats. Our problems are caused by blacks, agitators or subversive moral elements, paid by the Russians or the Chinese (no doubt).

Problems are tackled not by changing the circumstances that produced them, but by deterring people from doing wrong by even greater punishments than before. The middle class is especially prone to these 'solutions' since

they themselves are the most insecure part of the population, the most up to their neck in the rat race.

They have neither the economic strength of the capitalist class nor the solidarity and organisation of the working class to protect them. Their economic position involves ruthless competition against even their own workmates, as in the civil service or in corporate management.



The growing ideology of EAW AND ORDER in the context of the ruling class offensive is creating a situation where people are less willing to fight back against the things that oppress them. Such a feeling builds up against the breaking of laws and rules of behaviour that any struggles against the offensive may be isolated and divided.

So, for example, workers may fight against the Industrial Relations Act's enforcement but ignore other kinds of oppression by the State like increasing censorship and puritanism.

Or housewives may complain about rising prices yet blame strikers who have 'disobeyed the rules of industrial conduct!.

The only people who really benefit from this present crisis, the businessmen and politicians, are left alone and in power because their ideas and codes of behaviour are still strong enough to prevent the majority of people realising the causes of their problems - and taking action to change them.



The importance of this lack of understanding and the inaction that may follow from it, is why we are going to write a series of articles on different aspects of law and order like:- delinquency and vandalism, justice, crime etc. This issue we are dealing with the subject of political violence.

The reason we are choosing this subject is that it is the most important issue in the law and order 'offensive' at the moment. We have been seeing recently many political trials concerning violence; the Miners pickets, the Workers' Party of Scotland case, the trial of Irish militants of Saor Eire and the so-called 'Angry brigade' trials. Now the legal structure of oppression that is always beneath the surface of capitalism is surfacing, drastically reinforced, with a vengeance against militants This political trial showed against whom the Law and Order campaign is directed. Our solidarity with these miners means that we go along with *all their actions*. And we state once and for all the right of the people to use violence whenever this violent system tries to stamp us down.

# jake & ian

One of the most important of these trials ended a few months ago when Jake Prescott, a young revolutionary worker was sentenced to 15 years in jail for having conspired' to bomb the home of the then Minister for Employment, Robert Carr. He and his fellow defendant were cleared of many other similar charges, so weak was the evidence against them. ever political differences we have with people put on trial by the state: if they are put down it's a blow to all of us fighting this system.

fighting this system. When the state attacks the Stoke Newington Eight it is really hitting at the organisations to which they belong, like the Claimants' Unions and Womens' Liberation. If the media are silent about this trial then we must not be. Wherever we are we must talk about it and the issues it raises: terrorism, political violence and class justice.

We have to see that certain violent actions are not always wrong and in fact are *necessary* in some periods. Unless we believe that our rulers are going to give up their privileges without a fight.

We disagree with the political strategy behind the bombings against our rulers, which we have seen recently. And we will continue to disagree until such actions are linked



who by their actions make themselves the first and most obvious targets for repression. An important aspect of the question of political violence is the struggle in Ireland and the campaign against the IRA being carried out in the press etc. in Britain. But we feel that the question of political violence and the role of the IRA is so important that it must merit a separate article in the future.

## the trials

One of the most basic characteristics of the present series of trials is that the ruling class and their courts try to put the violence of the people who fight this system at the same level as gangsters and professional criminals.

Recently the accusation of violence for political ends against the state has come into industrial disputes with the trial of the Scottish miners' pickets. The judge stated that a picket is legal only if it is not 'efficient' -that is when it's not a picket. So these miners are on trial for doing a picket the way it should be, tough and unbreakable.

To do this they had to fight with the police, backed

All charges against Ian Purdie were dismissed, but they had to pin something on somebody or their charade would have been exposed for what it is. So they got Jake for 'conspiracy,' and their definition of this term spells a lot of dangers for us.

It means that from now on when a group of us tired of this stinking society, get together and start talking about getting rid of it and taking direct action; we face the possibility of trial and imprisonment.

The second instalment of this trial is going on now with the trial of the 'Stoke Newington'eight,'on similar charges of'conspiracy' etc.The press has been keeping pretty quiet about this trial, and no wonder. So far its been a case of the defence smashing the evidence of the prosecution. But such legal 'niceties' as evidence will not worry the state; they'll just rig it, like the judge had to admit when he dismissed the defendants in the "saor Eire' case because the Special Branch had planted the guns on them.

# solidarity movement

The only way to keep these comrades out of jail is to build a solidarity movement to show that we wont tolerate such 'justice' again. Because one to a mass movement. Until the actions can be done by organisations integrated into the process of working class struggle. At the moment when they are not able to directly involve the mass of people who oppose the system, these actions give way to the harshest repression without a mass reaction.



But we say without doubt, and this attitude we are sure is shared by many workers who are suffering under Carr's Industrial Relations Act: none of us were crying when Carr's house was bombed.

# SEWAGE, RATS AND RENT RISES

The people in the DINGLE area of Liverpool have organised themslves to resist the dumping of 3 million gallons of sewage in their area. The Corpy plans to build several huge storage tanks there for all the sewage from the north west.

# But the people say NO!

Several meetings have been called and over 500 people have attended them. The tenants all saw the need to organise among themselves to resist the Corpy's plan. It was useless to rely on their councillors to fight for them it was the councillors who were trying to bring the sewage in. The tenants have organised themselves on a street-by-street basis, every street having a representative on the committee set up to co-ordinate the struggle. People have said they will fight all the way and if the building starts they will take it down as fast as it goes up.



In EVERTON people from the socalled redevelopment area went on rent strike. Much of the area has been knocked down, but some people have been left behind, families struggling to survive amongst the rubble and boarded up houses. They have been asking the Corpy to rehouse them for years, but still they wait.

#### (Cont. from page 6)

#### Victimisation

The events of the return to work and the Halewood aftermath of the strike show management trying to run Halewood like the military. "We are the generals and you are the slaves." The final straw came when Shop Steward John Dillon was sacked. This was despite managements assurance of no victimisation. John Dillon was sacked on trumped up charges of holding unauthorised meetings on the shop floor. When news of the sacking got out, the Paint Trim and Assembly Plant went on strike and were later joined by the Body Plant and Transmission. John Matthews describes the union stand on this strike. But there is no mention of the eight thousand workers or more who's action gave the union officials the trump cards they needed. One final note on this subject; John Dillon



Fed up with waiting the people held several meetings and decided to go on rent-strike to force the Corpy to act. At first many people joined in and slogans went up all over the area. But unlike Dingle the strikers were not well organised. There was no real way for the tenants to work together; develop a sense of solidarity. People became of solidarity. People became suspicious of their neighbours paying the rent secretly, others became disillusioned when nothing seemed to be happening. But this was not the only cause of failure. Without local street-by-street organisation, it was difficult for tenants to make their own individ-

ual contribution to the struggle. People were unable to air their worries, problems and ideas. They were uncertain of what was happening, they became afraid and so the rentstrike began to cave in.



is still waiting for a trade union enquiry that will never come.

#### Money

The only other chapter worth talking about is what Henry Ford could afford. John Matthews wrote 6 pages on this subject when one paragraph would have done. Just ask 50,000 Ford employees what Fords could have afforded!

Perhaps once again the union thought otherwise for the book 'The Workers Story' is the UNIONS STORY AND NOT THE FORD WORKERS STORY.

In conclusion, it's important to remember that Jones and Scanlon will still be our leaders in 1973. The 1971 pay deal made the N.J.N.C. look like a puppet body answerable only to Jones and Scanlon, two men who don't know what life is like in a motor car factory. This is why, in 1973, we must control our own struggles like the Merseyside When the rents go up on Merseyside, and all over the country in October (probably by £1) tenants will have to organise and fight. Most tenants realise a rent strike is their best weapon, but it will only be effec-tive if well organised. Neither this nor any other tenants struggle will be successful if run by a committee of a few 'dedicated people'. All tenants must be involved in discussion and planning: all tenants must have the opportunity to make their own contribution. With everyone involved in this way people will be less suspicious of their neighbours backing out, and any resistance to the rent rises will be better off for being thought out and discussed in this way.

How can these ends be met? Not by electing a central committee in whose hands decisions will lie; but by tenants in each block and street (and even factory) holding their own meetings and theň linking up with other groups.

The Unfair Rent Act is only one of a series of blows against the working class, only one more burden for tenants to bear. It strikes at Merseyside and the whole country. And the October rises are only the first step, it will get worse year after year. Without a mass organisation of tenants this act cannot be defeated: only a mass organisation can go on from there to fight against all the problems tenants have to live with ...

if You don't hit it it won't fall

# **BIG FLAME**

# PUBLICATIONS....

🗶 BULLETIN no.2 and3, 5p.

#### \* ITALY PAMPHLET, 15p.

THE STRUGGLES OF THE FIAT CARWORKERS AND THE TACTICS AND ORGANISATION THEY CREATED DURING THE HOT AUTUMN.

#### ⊁FACT FOLDER,25p.

DOCUMENTS WORKERS STRUGGLES AT HOME AND ABROAD AND PROVIDES ANALYSES OF INDUSTRIAL AND UNION DEVELOPMENTS. IN THE FIRST FACT FOLDER - COVENTRY TOOL ROOM DISPUTE, SHIPBUILDING AND PLESSEYS.

#### \*SHOP STEWARDS, TRADE UNIONS, and WORKING CLASS STRUGGLE.

For more information about Big Flame or a subscription to this newspaper write to,78,Clarendon Rd, Wallasey,Cheshire.....

Liverpool Claimants Union



Ford workers in Halewood are re-gaining the confidence to fight the inhuman pace of work and dangerous conditions.

Several sections have walked out over speed ups. Another adopted a policy of hon-coop eration which lost Fords 100 cars a day. When offered an extra man they refused. They wouldn't work above the normal score on any condition. This is just one tactic that means MAXIMUM COST TO THEM : MINIMUM COST TO US.

Harassment from foremen has also led to walk-outs. In the drive for higher production foremen have been keeping records on anyone who fights back : doling out jammy jobs to the blue-eyes : threatening and intimidating : ignoring danger hazards. Each time the workers challenge the foremen THEY CHALLENGE THE MANAGEMENT'S RIGHT TO MANAGE.

Fords tried to hit back by cutting wages for the time of the dispute and laying off other sections. The workers answered with another walk-out and a sit-in. The demand : FULL LAY-OFF AND DISPUTE PAY.

# Intimidation

Fords have been preparing for this regained militancy. In 6 weeks 5 workers were sacked for "bad time-keeping". For Fords ONE MAN SACKED MEANS A WHOLE SECTION INTIMIDATED. First they chose men who wouldn't get support from their fellow workers. And having got away with it they then sacked a militant.

These sackings show just how far the shop floor still has to go in acting for itself and developing its own kinds of links. In every case the convenors and some stewards prevented a flare-up. The only support for the sacked men came from their own sections and these were isolated. And many workers judged each case on its own merits whereas Fords was using the sackings for mass intimidation. The convenors have done nothing to explain this management stratagy to the shop floor.

# 35 hours

Management and convenors blame this wave of disputes on a small band of agitators. They know this is a lie. Week by week supervision gets tighter, work gets faster, our gains are attacked. More and more workers are forced to stand up and fight. Ford wants bigger profits a decent life, a living wage, time energy and health to enjoy ourselves. They're scared because we're challenging their control over our lives.

The demand for 35 hours paid 40, made by many workers, is part of that challenge. A reduction in hours can't be taken back like a wage 'rise'. Of course we want more money. But we want a better life. MORE TIME FOR US LESS TIME FOR THEM.

# The Right To Live

It's only a start. We must challenge the choice they force on us - a lifetime's boring work for a barely living wage or the poverty of the dole. In Fords hidden redundancies are swelling the dole queues: those left work harder than ever, last year's "rise" swallowed by inflation.

They claim they can't give jobs to the unemployed. But now we're doing 9 hours overtime - work that could go to the unemployed. We do that extra work because we need the money - the answer is a fat wage increase.

Why are we killing ourselves for 40 hours a week when there are men and women who could share that work? When already machines could do most of that work? Why are the unemployed harassed in the dole queue and Social Security office and forced to live at subsistence level? We could all work less. A guaranteed adequate income for all, working or not working could mean time with our families and friends, time and energy to live. The way things are it's all set up for the likes of Henry Ford. We must fight for the right to live: for a society where machines serve people and people's lives are no longer dominated by work.

# OUR STRENGTH

Only the shop floor can fight for 35 hours. Union officials have collaborated all along the line with speed ups, frame ups and sackings. Already the shop stewards committee has watered down the demand to "a shorter working week". If we leave it to union officials and management to negotiate we'll get 39% hours plus speed ups.

More of us must realise our strength is with each other, on the shop floor. We must find new ways of struggling so that the majority of workers are involved, have a say in decisions and control that struggle.

heWorkers

FORD STRIKE - The Workers Story, by John Mathews.

The book is about the Ford workers struggle for parity with the Midland Car factories. But when we really start to read and talk about it, the heading 'the Workers Story' starts to disappear, because the only people interviewed are trade union officials, convenors and shop stewards. The latter, of course, go under the heading 'rank and file' workers, but many are really semi officials. Many people will come to John Matthews defence claiming these people are workers which is half true. But how many work the gruelling pace of the production line?

# Dead End

On the 9 week strike (Chap 5), the book doesn't say much about who gave Jones and Scanlon the right to plan the next two years of misery for addressed the important meeting in Liverpool before the return to work has to this day never said why Jones and Scanlon went over the heads of the National Joint Negotiating Committee.

Sto1

strike Henry Ford II made one of his rare visits to this country. Ted Heath gave him the red carpet treatment and showed him a copy of the Industrial Relations Act, an act designed by the ruling classes to attack working class people, something Henry Ford dearly loves to do. John Matthews fails to link this up in the chapter dealing with the walk outs which happened soon after the second reading in Parliament of this brutal act. This of course made Henry Ford's visit very nicely timed. Ford workers